pattern is similar to that of the central part. Villages are scattered throughout the area with population distribution comparable with the central area. Before the war, the densities here were over one thousand per square mile,[4] actually considerably more if the uninhabitable lands are subtracted.

How long this settlement pattern and these regional differences have existed is difficult to say. In studying contemporary environments, like Okinawa, which bear the imprint of long human settlement, it is useful to try to reconstruct the nature of the landscape before the interference of man. At one time, the whole island, with the exception of stony, rocky, and shallow soils and beach and marsh land was covered with forest. There are now no virgin stands. "It is evident that the present forest has been cut over many times. There seems to be no part of the island in which the forest cover has not been disturbed in some way by man."[5] In this light, the regional differences between the forested north and the deforested south are the work of man.

The oldest settlements are thought to have been in the Naha and Shuri areas. Kudaka Island, off the southeast coast, according to one legend, was the site of the supernatural creation of the Okinawan people. The town of Unten, the Port Melville of Captain Hall and Commodore Perry, was, in one version, the scene of the landing of the Japanese warrior, Tametomo, but this was in the twelfth century. Northern areas were inhabited prior to the unification of the island in the twelfth century because they had their own regional chieftans before this. But the population of the north, at least up to the war, has been sparse and scattered. If the forests are any indication, it has been the central and southern regions which have been the scenes of longest settlement. Probably the settlement pattern had not changed much until the Japanese interventions of the nineteenth century and the great changes coming with the recent war, and with the extensive modifications which the Americans have made in the landscape of the central region.

3

General Climatic Conditions

In the Köppen system, Okinawa has a humid subtropical climate. It is a rainy climate with no marked dry season; it has a mild winter and the temperature of the warmest month is over 71.6°F. The average annual temperatures in Naha range from 61° for January and February to 82°F for July and August, and the range from the mean minimum of 55° in February to the

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP of P. 14--Analyst]

4 See the population distribution maps in CA Handbook, Ryukyu (Loo-choo Islands, 48-49.

5 Okinawan Forests. (Prepared by the USGS, Military Geology Section under the direction of Office of the Engineer, GHQ, Far East Command), 1948, 2.

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Approximate area in square miles	454
Population density per square mile	1139
Assumed area in cultivation in square miles a/	134.4
Population density per square mile of arable land	3851

a/ See discussion above. The 134.4 square miles is an approximation derived by adding the areas in wet rice, dry land crops, and 18,200 acres which includes land in cultivation, in town sites, military installations, and in idle land, a total of 86,335. An arbitrary approximation of 80,000 acres (134.4 sq. miles) was then taken, very probably too high a figure. Huttonson, op. cit., p. 12, gives the cultivated area as less than one-fourth of the total area, or 67,200 acres. One of course must distinguish between cultivated land and land that can be cultivated, but 80,000 acres still seems a reasonable approximation.

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If we look at the geography of Okinawa from the point of view of the total physical environment and not merely from the point of view of the amount of arable land available to support the people, we are forced to the conclusion that as a result of long settlement, a growing population and the destruction of the war, combined with periodic and inevitable property and crop damage from typhoons, that the environment is not suited for the comfort and well-being of large numbers of people. Intense fertilization will keep the good soils growing crops. Increase of trade and some industrialization may help as long as they do not lead to destructive exploitation of the forests, and some small help may come from the reclamation of unused or cut over land.

5

Conclusion

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Almost one hundred years ago, one of the observers on Commodore Perry's expedition wrote,

> "That the island has been peopled for many ages, is evidenced by the graded roads and deep cuts, the structure and manifest age of the bridges, the antiquity of the villages, the great amount of stone-work in the towns and in the fortresses--some old and dilapidated, some modern and in repair; but, above all, by the incalculable amount of labor done in grading the land for culture. That which is now so perfect, could only have been made so by degrees, like structures reared by the ant or bee."[8]

8 Hawks, Perry's Expedition, as cited, II, 36.

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2

Conjectural Minglings of Prehistoric Times

● 174 There seems to be little doubt that the settlement of these islands is the result of migration and invasion, and that in the early ages their history was one of contact, not of isolation. These contacts, a consequence of migration and invasion, whether direct or indirect, may have spread over two or three thousand years. This is important to bear in mind, for often in theoretical reconstructions of cultural history it is assumed that a culture has its origin in a period of early isolation and that is subsequent experience to the present is the history of the gradual blurring of its original features which have become increasingly influenced by the international community.

The two chief theories regarding the peopling of the Ryukyu Islands and of Japan are (1) that the southeastern and northeastern Asiatic influences came from the continent, probably by way of Korea. Advocates of this theory emphasize relationships with Korea, Manchuria, and Mongolia. (2) The island stepping stone theory, that the peopling came northward, perhaps via Formosa and the Ryukyus to Japan, is advanced by those who point to affinities with Indonesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia.

Presently held views, following the early lead of Chamberlain, are predominantly in favor of the first theory. Like Japan, the Ryukyus are thought to have been originally settled by peoples from northeastern Asia, perhaps similar to the Ainus of Hokkaido. The ancestors of the present Ainu are believed to have reached Japan "in at least three successive waves perhaps separated by long intervals of time." (Bishop).

This early Ainu settlement was followed by invasions of Mongoloid peoples, the effects of which were to force the Ainus north and west, with a few going south into the Ryukyus. While the original settlers of the Ryukyus are thought to be related to the Ainus, the evidence admittedly is meagre and has been questioned. Bishop has accounted for the southeastern Asiatic influences in Japan (and by inference in the Ryukyus, for he rejects the island stepping stone theory) by assuming areas of contact on the east Asian coast among the cultures of northeast China and those of the southeast, although the latter were not yet part of the Chinese culture. Cultural influences were transmitted along the Asian littoral, across Korea, or possibly the Shantung peninsula, to the Japanese islands.

The study of the Ryukyu Islands from the standpoint of modern Western standards of scholarship started with Basil Hall Chamberlain. His writings on Japan, and to a lesser extent on the Ryukyus, date from [114] the latter part of the nineteenth century. Since his time, further scientific investigation has been and will continue to be inhibited by political conditions in this part of the world. Advances in knowledge

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of Okinawan prehistory will probably depend on research throughout a wide area and on the comparison and collation of discoveries already made in western Japan, south Korea, Qualpart Island, the Shantung peninsula, the Ryukyu Islands, Formosa, and China, particularly concerning the role of Fukien province in later times, to say nothing of determining the sources and routes of influences from southeastern Asia on Japan and the Ryukyus. Links with Polynesia and Hawaii have been suggested. Obviously present day political conditions are unfavorable for this type of inquiry.

The suppositions of which we have been speaking have led to the belief that the Ryukyu people, like the Japanese, are composed of the North Mongoloid, South Mongoloid or Malayan, and the Ainu type, but that the proportions are different, since there seem to be larger elements of the Malayan and Ainu types in the Ryukyu Islands. Whether these reconstructions are correct or not, the significant fact is that the islands owed their peopling to migration and invasion, and that culture mixture and contact is of very ancient origin.[2]

The Ryukyuan creation myth is a crystallization of ideas that must have been long dominant at the time they were recorded. There are two versions of this myth, one simple, the other, as Spencer points out, more complex and probably reflecting the influence of new and foreign ideas. The first of these versions appears in Ryukyu Shinchūki, written about 1603 A.D., the second in the Kyu Yo, a Chinese translation of a work by Hanaji Tomohide entitled Chusan Seikan (1650).[3]

[Text continues top of p. 28--Analyst]

2 Bishop, C.W. The historical geography of early Japan. Geo. Rev. 13 (1923), 40-63. See also this author's, The geographical factor in the development of Chinese civilization. Geo. Rev. 12 (1922), 19-41. For a recapitulation of the theories regarding the peopling of the Ryukyus, see Marshall T. Newman and Ronan L. English, The Ryukyuan people: a biological appraisal. Amer. Journ. of Physical Anthropology, 5 (1947), 111-24, and Binkenstein, R. Okinawa-Studien. Monumenta Nipponica, 3(1940), 196 ff. and the literature there cited. Chamberlain's ideas are summarized in The Luchu islands and their inhabitants. Geo. Journ. 5 (1895), 316-19. R. S. Spencer, The Noro, or priestesses of Loo Choo. Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan. 2d Series. 8 (1931), 94-112, especially p. 94. For a recapitulation of Ryukyuan history, see C. A. Handbook, as cited, 13-31 and John R. Potter, A Preface to Liu Ch'iuan history: an analysis of the basis for establishing a United Nation's Trusteeship. (Unpublished Master's Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1948. Leavenworth, Charles S. The Loochoo Islands. Shanghai, 1905.

3 This discussion is based on the article by Spencer cited above. Partial translations of the myths from the sources are reproduced here. See also Binkenstein, Okinawa-Studien, as cited, 198.

In the first version, a male person (Shinerikyu) and a female person (Amamikyu) descended from Heaven. Amamikyu without sexual intercourse gave birth to three children: the first son became the first ruler; the first daughter, the first priestess; and the second son, the first farmer.

In the second version, the male and female deities gave birth to a child. "They carried stones and earth to the edge of the sea and planted trees to keep back the waves." Mountains and forests thus made, "mankind sprung up." Knowledge was attained and one person divided mankind into classes. This man, Tenteishi, had five children: Tensonshi, the first son and first ruler; the second son, the first noble (ansu); the third son, the first farmer. The eldest daughter became the first kikoe-oh-gimi who later headed the institutionalized noro religious system. The second daughter became the first priestess (noro).

The dynasty established by Tensonshi, according to tradition, lasted for twenty-five generations, 17,802 years, or until 1187 A. D. During this period, Okinawa was divided into three districts (magiri), Kunchan in the north, Nakagami in the center and Shimajiri in the south, divisions which remain to this day.[4] The districts were divided into mura, or townships. "Wheat and millet were raised at Kutaka /a name of a magiri/ and rice was grown at Chinen and Tamagusuku."[5] There is reason to believe that Tensonshi dynasty had its greatest control over what would now be the area of Naha, Shuri, Tamagusuku township, and the Chinen peninsula area.

In both myths, a female priesthood, as Spencer points out, is placed at the very beginning of Ryukyuan history. A king, lesser nobles, a female priesthood, and farmers were the basis of the culture.

3

Events of the Early Historical Period

Not enough is known of the early historical contacts between the Great Loochoo and the Chinese and Japanese to warrant any conclusions regarding influences which these countries could have exerted.

Chinese punitive expeditions took place in the early seventh century A. D., but the consensus of opinion is that the invasion of Great Loochoo resulted in no prolonged cultural contact or influence. Some Japanese

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 29 -- ANALYST]

4 Chamberlain, The Luchu Islands and their inhabitants, as cited, 306.

5 Leavenworth, Charles S. The Loochoo islands, 15. Quotation is from the manuscript history translated by Leavenworth, ibid, 77.

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1

Generalities on the Population History of Okinawa Island

Virtually nothing is known, to my knowledge, of the growth of population in Okinawa in historic times. Early travellers made some estimates, but they gave no basis for them. In a previous chapter, it was mentioned that the introduction of the sweet potato in the early 17th century must have allowed a greater population on the island than had hitherto been the case. No doubt also malaria and other diseases kept the population down, at least until the latter part of the 19th century. This ignorance of population growth extends down to recent history.[1]

There seems to have been very little immigration to the Ryukyus and the population has probably been homogeneous for long periods of time. There were many Japanese in Okinawa, but these were largely in the towns and main cities. Most of them left after the war.[2] This meant that the population of Okinawa continued to be made up of preponderantly the native born, though in recent years there has been some immigration of Amamians.

Emigration during the 20th century has been the outstanding fact in the population history of the island. Little is known of the nature of this emigration, but it is believed to have started in the early years of the twentieth century. Until World War II, emigration was the answer to the problem of a population that was growing beyond the ability of the island's resources to support it. It has been estimated that the emigration from Okinawa prefecture in the period 1920-1940 was over 193,400 persons. This represented a loss of 98% of the estimated natural increase for the 1920-1940 period. It was 34% of the prefecture's total 1920 population.[3]

The Okinawan campaign, also, was accompanied by large scale displacements of people who remained on the island. It was estimated that in a pre-invasion shifting of the population, over 3/4 of the people

[Text continues on top of p. 60--analyst]

1 Dr. Green in 1853 estimated the population of Okinawa at 150,000 or possibly 200,000. But this was only a crude guess. Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 36. For population estimates prior to World War II, see CA Handbook, as cited, 45-51.

2 As of Nov. 30, 1946, 57,345 Japanese, 1,755 Koreans, and 21 Formosans had been repatriated from the Ryukyus, with 3,706 Japanese remaining to be repatriated. See note 3 following.

3 Newman, Marshall T. and Eng, Roman, L. The Ryukyu people, a biological appraisal. Amer. Journ. of physical anthropology, n.s., 5 (1947), 113-57. Reference on pp. 135-36. This estimate was made by subtracting the estimated natural increase from the total increase, 1920-40, making allowances for the under registration of births. On post-war population history immediately following the war, see pp. 135-46 of this article.

Goldschmidt then remarks that the peasant in the last years of his possession thought only of the parcel to come in the next allotment and did nothing for his land, and that in consequence its productivity fell. There was private ownership at that time only of newly reclaimed land or land filled in along the seashore, and this land went to the person who had done the work. The Japanese, when they abolished the system, divided land among families by number of members and since this time large holdings have not been created. Goldschmidt adds that "the land still suffers now from the consequences of this old system."[4] 175 423

To discover precisely the nature of the influences of the old system cannot be done with accuracy because of the destruction of local records, the vagueness of recollection among the old and of the inability to reconstruct old boundaries. What follows therefore is partly speculative, but nevertheless useful in suggesting the reasons for the present shapes and areas of individual land parcels. One of the striking aspects of the land maps of these areas is the odd and irregular shapes of land holdings. This is not true of all Okinawa. In some areas, plots on the hillsides are symmetrical, often rectangular or square. In the areas studied, there are plots of this sort, but also many that have very irregular shapes. 174 423 423

It is possible that after the abolition of the old system, some areas in the island were resurveyed, while others were not. Such surveys could have approximated the old areas but created a more regular rectangular pattern. In Hanashiro resurveying apparently was not done. The historical reasons for the present boundaries are not known because of decades of cultivation and because the land has not always been used for the same purposes. One of the large rice growing areas in Hanashiro is a recent development. The changes from paddy to dry crop land, or the reverse, seem to have followed the fluctuations in sugar and rice prices. It was quite probable that formerly the land was less level, that it was more heavily forested, and that odd shapes were due to the cultivated areas winding around large outcrops, patches of stony land, clumps of trees, uncultivated slopes which have now been reclaimed, leveled and cultivated. 174 423 311 [435]

Conditions like this are a commonplace in Okinawa today. Some of these boundaries also may be following the lines of old streams. Rivers, or more properly creeks, are not numerous in Okinawa and their presence is often hidden: a stream rising in a nearby mountain and ultimately going to the sea eight or ten miles away may be lost in a wide paddy area and trickle off again in its stream bed after several hundred feet of dispersion in the paddies. The boundaries may also 174 423 [133]

4 Goldschmidt, Richard. Neu-Japan. Berlin, 1927, 131. (My translation). The same criticism appears of the system in the middle east. See footnote 2 above.

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423 have been affected by roads and trails which have now disappeared.

[115] Old residents[5] of Matsuda and neighboring villages were able to furnish more specific clues regarding the old system and its relation to other phases of village life. These old people estimated the [161] population of Matsuda at the close of the old system at about 360 persons, compared with the present population of 1368. The system operated under much less acute population pressure than exists today. [165] Deaths, especially from malaria, and a high infant mortality kept the population down, although introduced Japanese hygienic measures helped.

[311] Under the old system in Matsuda, there was a continual clearing of land, mostly around the settlement. There seems little doubt that land reclamation and clearing has been going on slowly from the earliest historical times in Okinawa. The land cleared remained under village ownership, but the persons who cleared the property were allowed to hold it for use without giving it up for periodic redistribution. Technical ownership remained with the village.[6] Fences and stone barriers were erected as a protection against the wild boars. But the large scale reclamation and the private ownership of genya land seems to have occurred after the close of the old system.

The dividion of lands at the beginning of the new system has set the boundary pattern of many plots. In Matsuda there were instances of land which has retained the same boundaries that it had under the old system. There was general agreement among the old that the form, boundaries, and areas of land plots have changed very little since the times of the jiwari-seido. This would be par- [428] ticularly true in the case of property which had passed down through [425] the first son. Changes came from the establishment of branch families, and sales and purchases. In these areas, however, buying and selling have been infrequent.

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423 The history of land tenure in Okinawa, therefore, is different
[171] from that of Japan with its long history of tenancy, whose accumulated problems finally led to the land reform of 1946 during the Allied occupation. The present system of land tenure in Okinawa is a little over 50 years old.

178
423 The chief influences of the old system were to set in a form
311 recognizable to the present, the pattern of land holding, to establish land classification, and apply it on a very localized basis.

[115] 5 I am indebted here to Shinzato Zensuke of the village of Sokei (Oinoza-son), and to Oshiro-san of Matsuda village (Oinoza-son) both over 70 years of age for their recollections of the history of the system in Matsuda.

[114] 6 This differs from Goldschmidt's account, cited above, in that in this case the land became a usufruct, in the other actual ownership.

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1

An Historical View of the Okinawan Forest

Northern Okinawa is the woodshed of the island, and there is a steady stream of lumber for building, poles for a variety of uses, charcoal, and of small bundles of wood for the people of the south. In the village of Matsuda, the forest is part of the daily life and economic well-being of the people. 313

Little is known of the past history of the Okinawan forest. 137 174 ●

> "Though it is impossible now to determine the nature and distribution of the original forest cover, it seems reasonable that the major part of Okinawa was originally covered by trees. The forest was probably absent from the beaches, a few marsh areas behind the beaches, rock ledges upon which trees could gain a foothold, and perhaps some areas of Regosols (shallow soils) from calcareous clays in the southern part of the island. It is evident that the present forest has been cut over many times. There seems to be no part of the island in which the forest cover has not been disturbed in some way by man."[1] [311]

The virgin stands have disappeared and left few clues, these authors continue, but it is likely that the original forest cover was comparable to the present stands in composition of species. The authors point out the relationship of cutting to settlement. Cutting must have been a continuing process. In Saion's time, in the 18th century, there was considerable tree planting and measures were taken to protect groves of trees for their value as windbreaks. Excessive cutting could hardly have taken place in olden times in the central areas of the north, whose trees, even today, can be reached only by footpath. No doubt in the past cutting has spread out from village sites and travelled roads. Fire may have been one cause of deforestation, as it has been used to clear land. There are still instances of this. 137 311 174 [245]

In Okinawa, the period from 1879 to the end of the Russo-Japanese war seems to have been one of widespread deforestation. (This was contemporary also with the reckless deforestation in the New World). The period after 1906 reflected Japanese concern with forest preservation, especially of the nationally owned forests, a program pursued with varying degrees of success. [185]

1 Okinawa forests (U.S. Geological Survey. Mil. Geol. Sect., Office of the Engineer, GHQ, FEC), 1948, 2.

105 968 Six Cultures: Studies of Child Rearing

131 648 a fact which has been a determinant in their historical development and an important factor in speculations about prehistoric events.

105 174 Until further archaeological evidence permits greater certainty, the original settlement of the Ryukyus is believed to have taken place predominantly from the Asiatic mainland, with occasional influx from the southern islands, Formosa, the Philippines, and Indonesia (Kerr, [172] 1958). Surviving culture elements of great antiquity support these theories. Most frequently cited are a basic form of Shinto, characteristic of the religion, and the shamanistic role of the priestesses. Specifically, the "curved jewels," formerly worn by all priestesses, are mentioned as apparent links with the neolithic cultures of Japan.

105 179 174 [84] On the other hand, sporadic contact with the islands to the south is evidenced by culture traits, such as raised houses of tropical design (common to all of Japan) and perhaps the practice of "mother roasting," a period of recuperation after the birth of a child during which the mother is kept near a fire. This custom is widespread in Malaysia (Cole, 1915:155).

[199] Linguistic evidence points to a separation of Okinawan from a common proto Japanese language about 1500 years ago (Hattori, 1954). This may indicate a southern movement of peoples from Japan under the pressure of the Yayoi people who introduced the wet rice complex into southwestern and central Japan at this period. That this was not the earliest settlement of the Ryukyus, however, is evidenced by remains in the Ryukyus of the earlier Jomon period.

105 648 175 From the first mention of the Ryukyus in Chinese annals of 605 A.D. until the end of the nineteenth century when Japan formally annexed the islands, they stood in a curious relationship of dependency toward China and Japan. Both nations claimed suzerainty over the kingdom of Okinawa with its royal court in Shuri and extracted tribute. Eventually the Lord of Satsuma in southern Japan extended his sovereignty over the Ryukyus. But with ties to China remaining, Okinawa participated in both Chinese and Japanese culture, which disseminated through the urban trading center of Naha into the outlying areas. It is this intermediate cultural position which still gives Okinawa a peculiar character, although it long ago became part of Japan and abandoned direct contacts with China.

105 175 177 648 In 1872 Japan formally declared its claims on the Ryukyuan kingdom, and after deposing the last king in 1879, made the Ryukyuan islands a province of Japan, with the capital at Naha. Between this time and the present, intensive contact with Japan has led to an overwhelming absorption of Japanese culture, a willingness on the part of Okinawans to adopt Japanese ways and to identify with Japan as their

At the same time, each person, both men and women, bore a given name that was purely Okinawan. These names are called warabinaa, "child names". They are few in number. Several of them---perhaps all of them---are meaningful, such as Kamii, "turtle", Ushi, "ox". Several of them were given both to males and to females. They were transmitted according to rules that seem now to be not too well understood. According to one old woman, a man should give his name to his sons' first sons and his wife hers to the sons' first daughters. Subsequent grandchildren should receive the names of the grandparents' siblings or other relatives. A younger woman said that a first son got his father's father's name and a woman her mother's mother's. But unfortunately not enough information was obtained to support the last assertion or to reveal any further pattern. (This is a subject that would be well worth further study; the possibility that the naming system is a reflection of a former system of double descent should not be overlooked.) 551 [174]

Among the commoners (hyakusoo, cognate of Japanese 'hyakushō', peasants"), surnames were perhaps not universally taken until after the Japanese annexation. Nor did they have Chinese-style given names. Their common descent groups, usually called munchu, seem to bear names that are place names. They did have house names (yaanuyaa, J. 'yagō'), and Okinawan-style given names. Probably a commoner was known only by these two. Even today among the older Okinawans a man is more likely to be known as Taasachi-gwaa nu Sanree, "Sanree ("Third"?) of the house Taasachi-gwaa ("Little End-of-the-Rice-Field")", than by the name found in the 'koseki'. [565] [177] [614]

Today everyone is registered by and officially known by a surname and given name. The surnames are mainly taken from Okinawan place names but the readings assigned the characters are frequently Japanized. Thus Ufu-gusuku, "great-castle' becomes 'Ōshiro' and Nakandakari becomes 'Nakamura'. Many of the given names for males are of two characters read in the Sino-Japanese manner, like the given names formerly used only by the gentry, but many also are purely Japanese---Masaru, Takeo, Toshiyasu---the last possibly being the Japanese reading of a name that once might have been given its "Chinese" reading. Girls are given such Japanese names as 'Yoshiko' and 'Masako'. And the youngest child recorded in the 'koseki' for Yamada, the first to bear the name, was an infant girl named 'Chiemi', obviously after a currently popular Japanese "starlet". 551 177

The Ancestral Tablets In every main house there is a shelf or if possible a cabinet (tootoomee, J. 'butsudan') for the ancestral tablets (ifee, J. 'ihai'). If it is a cabinet it contains three shelves; on the top shelf stand the tablets flanked by a pair of vases, on the second shelf a pair of tea-cups and a wine cup, and on the third an incense burner (u-kooru). The paraphernalia vary somewhat with the means of the family. The tablets are red lacquered slips of wood held in two rows in a black frame. On the upper row are written the names of deceased male members of the family, on the lower row names of deceased females. The ancestral tablets together with the house name form an inseparable unit. The main house of the Taba lineage is the main house and has the house name "great Taba" because it is the location of the ancestral tablet of the founder of the lineage. The tablets at "new little Taba" contain the tablet for the founder of that house. The tablets are 769 353 592 769 592 [613]

It
186 is also important to keep in mind that the relationship is always one of
829 American employer to Okinawan employee; consequently, the American is most
177 often the initiator of action.

464 Conclusion In a number of Okinawan communities military employment has drawn
434 off the surplus population which formerly had emigrated. In not a few communities it has become the mainstay of the economy.

464 Most Okinawans regard military employment as economically advantageous.
829 There is no stigma attached to men who are so employed, but considerable
554 stigma is attached to women who take this employment, particularly the maids.

177 The American installations are dependent to no small degree upon their
618 Okinawan employees, and in turn many Okinawan individuals and communities are
464 wholly dependent upon the military for their livelihood. Their relationship is a symbiotic one which can best be enhanced by mutual understanding; yet the social distance between the Okinawan and American is so great as to make interaction on a basis of equality rare. Because of their different cultural backgrounds and their job situations, both remain ignorant of the other's motives and values, and mutual understanding is difficult if not impossible. Common
[171] denominators in both cultures might be sought as a means of bridging this gap, as, for example, their common love of sports.

3. Japan, America, and Okinawa

W. P. Suttles

829 Japan in Retrospect Okinawan attitudes toward Japan are decidedly ambivalent. Factors that have entered into the formation of these attitudes are as follows:

175 1) Historic Relations On the negative side are the historic separa-
648 tion and former independence of Okinawa. This separate status is still re-
829 membered by old people, some of whom speak of wars between Okinawa and "Yamatu" (Yamato, that is, Japan). Several illiterate old people seemed to make no distinction between the conquest and oppression of Okinawa by the feudal state of Satsuma and the later annexation by the national government, and thus seemed to be blaming Japan as a whole for wrongs done by Satsuma.

171 On the positive side there is the indisputable remote common origin
• 174 and basic similarity of the Japanese and the Okinawans. Racially, linguis-
177 tically, and culturally the Okinawans are closely related to the Japanese.
829 They may be said to be merely a kind of Japanese. It is highly probable that the majority of the ancestors of the Okinawans came from the north, from Japan, in the not too remote past. Their isolation made it possible for them to be politically independent and their political independence made it possible for them to escape the levelling influence of Japanese national governments, particularly that of the Tokugawa Shogunate, and for them to have closer contact with China. This accounts for their having a number of elements of Chinese culture that are not found in Japan, but it does not make them a kind of Chinese.